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DECEMBER MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. George E. Ellis, in the chair.

The records of the stated meeting in November, together with those of the special meeting in memory of our late First Vice-President, were read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was also read.

Communications having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said:—

It may be remembered that, at our monthly meeting in May last, I commented at some length upon a letter to Emmanuel Downing in 1632, signed Richard Saltonstall, a photograph of which, taken from the original among the Coke MSS. at Melbourne Hall, had recently been presented to the Society by Miss A. C. Dethick. In the course of my remarks I alluded to the regret felt by historians of New England that the missing correspondence between Downing and Governor Winthrop, in the earliest years of the Massachusetts Colony, had never come to light, and I expressed the hope that the discovery of this Saltonstall letter might lead to further finds of the same Miss Dethick subsequently wrote me that no letters of Governor Winthrop had been found at Melbourne Hall, but that there were three from Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, — one dated in 1633, two in 1634, and all immediately relating to New England. I accordingly purchased copies of these three letters and am now about to communicate them, as they undoubtedly possess considerable historical interest, furnishing additional evidence of the important services rendered by Downing to the infant Colony, and showing how his intimacy with Sir John Coke, then Secretary of State, with Sir Robert Naunton, a former Secretary of State, and with Lord Coventry, then Keeper of the Great Seal, enabled him to exert a potent influence against the designs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

In one of them he describes the arrival of the first ship which returned from New England laden with masts for vessels, and how these masts were immediately sold at "an extraordinarie great price," giving promise of an important industry. In the same letter he gives some account of the Connecticut River (of which his correspondent had apparently never heard), and urges that the Dutch be strictly confined to the west bank of it. In another letter he describes the efforts making for the release of Edward Winslow, who, having gone to England to defend the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies from the calumnies of Thomas Morton, had been arbitrarily imprisoned by Archbishop Laud; and he alludes to the sympathy felt for Winslow by Lord-Keeper Coventry, who had been a friend of his father. In reading this passage I was reminded of one of Winslow's letters, written six years later, and long since printed by us, in which he speaks of the death of Lord Coventry and the retirement from office of Sir John Coke, as sad losses to New England.1

Much the longest of the three letters, and the earliest in point of date, is devoted to an earnest defence of Massachusetts against what he styles the foul and malicious charges of Gorges and his co-partners, and, in particular, against the insinuation that the Colony was not unlikely to join in trade with foreigners and become disloyal to the mother-country. In reply, Downing points out that the majority of those who have risked most money in the enterprise have no intention of leaving England, while the most influential of those who have emigrated are animated by the strongest attachment to the land of their birth, in which they still retain property or are in reversion to estates, and which is the home of many of their nearest relations. He incidentally speaks of the hundreds of affectionate letters which come by every conveyance from New England, of the great joy in the plantation over every vessel from home sighted in Massachusetts Bay; and he cites examples from both ancient and modern history to show that, however frequent may have been homebred rebellions, a colony is rarely, if ever, separated from the parent country except by conquest. "To conclude," he says, "this State is as sure of firm allegiance from this Colony, or Corporation, in New England, as of any Corporation here

¹ See 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 167.

within this land, and let them but enjoy the liberty of their patent, and choose their own officers as every Corporation doth here, then shall this kingdom clearly gain, by the fruits of their labors, that commodious trade of cordage, pitch and tar, — and that without money, yea, for nothing; . . . and for their apparel and some few other necessaries . . . we shall gain that trade unto us."

Of the numerous letters of Downing hitherto printed, several were written before the settlement of the plantation, but the greater part are of much later date than those I have just described. Of the years 1633 and 1634 there are but two, and they relate to matters of business and contain no references to public affairs. I am informed that there are five less important letters of his at Melbourne Hall, besides two long Memorials addressed by him to Coke,—one (in 1622) on the decay of trade, piracy, and the hoarding of money; the other (in 1632) on the condition of Ireland,—and that there are also a number of letters from Emmanuel's brother, Joshua Downing, who was a Commissioner of the Royal Navy. I have written to obtain further particulars of some of these manuscripts, and shall endeavor to procure copies of all that contain allusions to New England.

There has also been sent me, with prices annexed, a list of a variety of material, much of it genealogical rather than historical, collected in different parts of England by the antiquarian whom Miss Dethick represents and who apparently does not wish his name to be known. It includes copies of no less than eighteen wills, one of them as early as 1526, of members of the family of Governor Simon Bradstreet, with extracts from parish-registers relating thereto; a copy of the will of the father of Captain John Smith of Virginia; copies of numerous wills of members of the family of Rev. John Davenport, not one of which (it is stated) is referred to in any memoir of him; a copy of the long will of Richard Whittingham of Boston, who died in England, which contains references to many persons and includes a legacy to John Cotton: a copy of an original letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges not printed by Baxter; a copy of an original letter of John Mason of New Hampshire not printed by Dean; and copies of four interesting documents preserved in the archives of the city of Exeter, one of them a letter written by Francis, Lord Russell, in 1623, and

all relating to plantations in New England. These last, I should add, are mentioned as being already in print, but in so unsatisfactory and inaccurate a form as to give no adequate idea of their importance. I do not imagine that I am the only person to whom such copies have been offered, but if any member, now hearing of them for the first time, should desire to know more with a view to purchase, I shall be happy to furnish him with any information in my power.

There is also offered for sale what is described as positive evidence, collected in recent years in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, that the benefice of the Rev. John Wheelwright became vacant by a flagrant offence of his own, and that this was the real reason of his coming to New England. It may be remembered that in a memoir of Wheelwright, written some time ago for the Prince Society by our recently deceased Corresponding Member, Charles H. Bell, it is vaguely stated that "apparently some cause existed which warranted his ecclesiastical superior in treating the vicarage [Bilsby, co. Lincoln] as vacant." "Whether," continues Governor Bell, "this was owing to his Puritanical views we have no means of ascertaining, but it is certain that either then or shortly afterwards Wheelwright was silenced for non-conformity." It is now contended that he was thus silenced not for non-conformity, but for misconduct; and it is affirmed that not long ago this evidence was privately offered to Governor Bell, who replied that it did not interest him. I have a strong feeling that such a charge ought not to be left where it is. If, on investigation, it should turn out to be an assumption or an exaggeration, the accused will be vindicated; if it be clearly established, we shall be in less haste to proclaim him a saint. A fresh interest in his early career has been excited by the important part assigned to it in a book recently issued by our surviving Vice-President, as well as in a former work of the same writer, wherein is attributed to Wheelwright "the most momentous single sermon ever preached from an American pulpit." 1 Personally, I have no wish to be considered either his champion or his denunciator. I have always believed him to have been a less objectionable personality than his irrepressible sister, and I am disposed to regard his conduct in the Antinomian Controversy as only that of a comparatively harmless

¹ C. F. Adams's Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, vol. i. p. 368.

prototype of the notoriety-seeking clerical enthusiast, — a type which began to blossom here in Boston in the first half of the seventeenth century, but which can hardly be said to have reached its consummate efflorescence until the second half of the nineteenth.

This matter leads me by an easy transition to indulge in a little criticism of the recently published work to which I have just alluded. During the fifteen years in which I have somewhat actively occupied myself with the concerns of this Society two things have impressed me as especially noticeable. One of them has been the apparent want of familiarity with early New England history exhibited by no inconsiderable number of its members. The other has been the apparent indisposition of a large majority of them to peruse the productions of their associates, - nor is this wholly to be wondered at. I venture to urge, however, that an exception be made in the present instance. I can promise any gentleman who has not yet found time to read Mr. Adams's new book, that he will reap therefrom both entertainment and instruction; and it possesses the additional attraction of being as short as it is sharp. Our revered President, it is true, is understood by no means to approve of it; our revered ex-President (my honored father), it is true, shakes his head over conclusions the ability of which he cannot deny; but, for my own part, I have gone through it more than once with that sensation of intellectual gusto with which one appreciates the scintillations of an exceptionally caustic pen irrespective of wide differences of opinion. It is entitled "Massachusetts, its Historians and its History: An Object Lesson," - this word "lesson" being here; I think, to be interpreted in its subordinate signification of rebuke, so that the sub-title might not inappropriately have been "A Rebuke with an Object." The rebuke is addressed to the historians of Massachusetts, past and present, who, with the exception of the author's younger brother and two or three obviously impartial Quaker writers, are collectively characterized as a set of sophistical sinners against the light, wriggling and squirming (I use his own words) in the presence of recorded facts, their minds saturated with what he expressively terms a filio-pietistic spirit. The object in view is, in the first place, to point out the imperative duty of disregarding all ties of patriotism, religion. or descent, when engaged in historical composition, and, in the next place, to proclaim ex cathedrâ that if the founders of Massachusetts had seen fit in 1637 to establish Religious Toleration, as we understand it, their posterity would have achieved "a great destiny," and have escaped "a century of intellectual torpor, in the deep night of old-time theology." In his preface Mr. Adams is modestly content to style himself a radical and an iconoclast, but he might well have added that he is an adept in the art of what might be called Retrospective Vaticination. He puts one in mind of the familiar lines of Whittier,—

"Of all sad words of tongue or pen, The saddest are . . . 'it might have been.'"

These words, however, are not only very sad but extremely vague, and they leave room for endless varieties of speculation, - so that when Mr. Adams takes to task his predecessors, and reiterates his "wonder" that they have not been able to see things as he sees them, his robust reliance on his powers of second-sight makes him forget that we have only his bare word that, in the century in question, the experiment would have resulted as he asseverates. The dose prescribed, he frankly admits, lamentably disagreed with neighboring Rhode Island, where, he says, "the born agitator, the controversialist, the generally 'otherwise-minded,' every type of thinker, whether crude and half-crazy or only 'advanced,' . . . found refuge, and the result was a disordered community." "But," he rejoins, "it by no means follows that what disordered infant Rhode Island would have proved more than a healthy stimulant for larger and more matured Massachusetts." This seems at best a hazardous assumption. Even a Roman haruspex required to have entrails spread before him ere he ventured to pronounce his verdict, but Mr. Adams confidently relies upon his diagnosis of the bowels of Massachusetts at a distance of two and a half centuries. "It is indeed strange," he remarks on another page, "how many things of doubtful outward aspect are in the eyes of the filio-pietistic historian 'certain,' 'undoubted,' and in no way open to question." It may strike some of his readers as even more strange that so philosophic a perception of the positiveness of opinion attributed to filio-pietists should not have awakened in his mind some slight mistrust of that exalted sense of superior

infallibility with which his cwn judgments are habitually fulminated.

"The Antinomian, the Quaker, and the Baptist," he declares, "were the best friends of the New England Puritan, - the acrid salt which saved him from corruption, - but this elementary truth has never dawned on the mind of the filiopietistic investigator." It certainly has not, nor do I think it ever dawned upon any mind worth mentioning except that of our Vice-President, — I mean in the sense of elementary truth. An elementary truth, as the term is ordinarily applied, is the statement of a well-recognized, fundamental fact, distinct from the theories of controversialists. My long intimacy with Mr. Adams has led me to attach a peculiar value to his opinions, but I cannot quite consent to regard them in the light of historical data. Individual tastes differ. So far from considering the Antinomians the acrid salt which preserved the Puritans from corruption, I rather incline to compare them to the flies mentioned by Solomon, which defiled a pot of ointment at the risk of rendering it unsavory.

"In the wonderful economy of nature," proceeds the author, "the Puritan was as much indebted to the Quaker and the Baptist as is the man sinking into frigid torpor to the dog that worries him into activity; he was as wrong in driving away the 'intruder' as is the man in striking at the dog." Dr. Johnson tells us that a metaphor drawn from nature ennobles art, but I cannot help thinking this one, though undoubtedly ingenious, calculated to confuse the reader; for if the man had not restored his circulation by striking at the dog that worried him, he might with difficulty have escaped relapsing into torpor. A preferable theory, in my judgment, is that the individual in question was really not in the least benumbed, but that he mistook the beast, not for a dog, but for a less domestic quadruped. Be this as it may, the shortness of the afternoon admonishes me to postpone further citations, as there are a few other points I wish to touch upon.

In the first place, I should be sorry if any member present who has not read the book were to obtain the impression that I had buckled my sword to my thigh in consequence of something Mr. Adams may have said about Governor Winthrop. So far is this from being the case that I gladly bear testimony to the courtesy with which he has treated Winthrop in all his

writings. The worst thing he says of him in the present volume is that he was not so strong a man as William the Silent; and I doubt whether even my father, who probably admires him more than any one else does, would venture to insist that he was. In the second place, I should be equally sorry to create an impression that I differ from Mr. Adams toto cælo and on all points. On the contrary, his book contains many expressions of opinion to which I cordially agree. For instance, where he quotes with approbation the saying of our associate Fiske that with many people history is only a kind of "ancestor-worship," I am quite at one with him. It is, however, as true of the Revolutionary period as it is of the Colonial, and as it will be of the period of the Civil War when we get far enough away from it. When he quotes with equal approbation Sir Henry Maine's reference to the occasionally "nauseous grandiloquence of the American panegyrical historian," and Doyle's remark, that in some chronicles of New England we are treated rather to a "hagiology" than to a history, I am sensible that such criticisms are by no means without foundation.

So, too, of much that he says on the subject of Toleration. One might as well undertake to deny the rigor of an oldfashioned New England winter as to contend that the fathers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were not harsh in their treatment of dissent, - nor is there any reason to suppose they ever intended to be otherwise. Among the varied considerations which induced them to expatriate themselves, - considerations of conscience, considerations of trade, considerations connected with the disturbed state of the mother-country, considerations connected with the spread of the Protestant faith in the New World, - you may search their letters and other writings in vain for any purpose of what we call Toleration. It would no more have occurred to them to consent to Free Religion within their jurisdiction than to permit a phalanstery of Free Love. Shame on their narrow-mindedness! vociferates Mr. Adams. Shame on them if you will, say I, but at least they are not deserving of so much opprobrium as if they had sailed from England with a plan of establishing here a sort of Church Congress of different persuasions and had ended in ejecting from it all but their own pet par-Still less am I disposed to deny the appositeness of Mr. Adams's favorite parallel between the banishments and punishments of the Old World and those of the New. I hesitate to believe that Thomas Dudley was quite as cruel as Philip II., or John Endicott always as arbitrary as Louis XIV. or Archbishop Laud; but there is so strong an analogy between religious persecutions in all countries and all ages that I freely admit Mr. Adams to have been fully entitled to draw the comparisons he has done.

Where I think him not altogether fair is the way in which he makes light of the argument of President Quincy and others, that when men are risking their lives and fortunes in a distant wilderness an instinct of self-preservation leads them to avoid the risk of anarchy by drawing tight the reins of order, - and also the way in which he repeatedly conveys the impression that from the outset the friends of the Colony in England disapproved of severity. In support of this he relies, first, upon what he styles "the formal recorded protest of all the more eminent divines of their own way of thinking," which constitutes, he says, "nothing less than an indictment of the early polity of Massachusetts at the bar of history." I know not what signification Mr. Adams attaches to the word "early," but this "protest" (which, by the by, was no protest at all, but an affectionate letter of advice, first mentioned by Cotton Mather in 1702) was written in the spring of 1669, nearly forty years after the settlement of Boston, thirty-two years after the Antinomian Controversy, thirty-four years after the banishment of Roger Williams, and at a time when, with a few unimportant exceptions, the founders of Massachusetts were in their graves. further relies - and this is one of his trump-cards, which he plays effectively more than once — upon the well-known letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall to Wilson and Cotton, the date of which, however, he omits to mention. It is true it bears no date, but the internal evidence of Cotton's answer to it conclusively establishes that the correspondence could not possibly have taken place earlier than 1651, sixteen years after the banishment of Williams, fourteen after the Antinomian Controversy, and at a time when Saltonstall had been twenty years absent from the Colony, in which he had only resided about nine months and to which he never returned. Cotton's long reply to it begins by explaining that neither he nor Wilson was at all responsible for the punishments complained

of, and he then enters into a very elaborate justification of the course pursued. Mr. Adams, omitting all reference to the early part of this letter, quotes exactly four sentences from the middle of it, and then mysteriously adds, "and there John Cotton stopped!" In point of fact, however, John Cotton, so far from stopping, continued for the equivalent of a page and a half of print, in the course of which are to be found the following memorable words:—

"We have tolerated in our Church some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do still to this day. . . . We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us. We content ourselves with unity in the foundation of religion and of Church order; superstructures we suffer to vary. We have here Presbyterian churches as well as Congregational, and have learned (through grace) to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; only we are loth to be blown up and down like chaff by every wind of new notions."

John Cotton may have been the weak creature Mr. Adams inclines to think him, but I am not aware that he was ever charged with untruthfulness; and it is only reasonable to assume that this account of what he then personally witnessed in Massachusetts is more accurate than the hearsay testimony of Saltonstall, who had not been on this side of the ocean for two decades. If I were asked for evidence of the state of feeling among friends of the Colony in England during the period of the Antinomian Controversy, I should not wish to appear to seek it in what was written many years afterward in relation to a wholly different condition of things, but I should refer to contemporaneous correspondence, and in particular to a letter of Emmanuel Downing, dated November 21, 1637, only a few weeks after the adjournment of the Cambridge Synod, and published thirty years ago by this Society. "Here [in London]," he says, "hath been great joy for your great victories, but far more for vanquishing your erroneous opinions than for conquering the Pequots. Our best and worthiest men do much marvel vou did not banish Wheelwright and Hutchinson's wife, but suffer them to sow more sedition among you. Mr. Vane's ill-behavior there hath lost all his reputation here. I hear he is about to travel into Germany." By the phrase "our best and worthiest men"

Downing undoubtedly referred to prominent members of the Parliamentary party with whom he is known to have been intimate,—such as Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Sir William Spring, or Lord Brooke,—and it is eminently probable that he was also alluding to the high officials who, as I have taken pains to show in the early part of this paper, honored him with their confidence and were favorably disposed toward Massachusetts. The opinions of such men were not lightly to be disregarded.

But I pass on to what, I think, can hardly fail to be generally deplored, the harsh attacks of our Vice-President upon his predecessors in the field of historical literature, -"that miserable drove of Adam's degenerate seed," to use a favorite expression of Roger Williams. Curiously enough, these philippics were addressed to Harvard students, and under somewhat peculiar circumstances. About a year ago our associate Channing wrote me that he was very desirous of procuring a number of duplicate copies of books which have become comparatively rare and quite expensive, on subjects connected with our early Colonial history, in order to stimulate original research among his pupils. end I sent him a contribution, and I dare say that he received a larger one from Mr. Adams. It now appears, however, that to counteract the possibly baleful effect which a study of Puritan writings might have upon the minds of these adolescents, it was arranged that the latter should go out there and temporarily occupy the chair of Channing, in order to ventilate his peculiar theories. The volume I am criticising contains his lectures; and in the preface to it we are told that his hearers "took rather kindly" to him, which I cannot for a moment doubt. Not only did they enjoy the unwonted privilege of being brought into immediate contact with one of the most influential members of the Board of Overseers and with a public man who had achieved deserved prominence in unusually varied departments of human activity, but to this was added the intellectual zest of listening while, in a trenchant style and with an authoritative manner not ill-befitting his early acquired rank of colonel of dragoons, the foremost representative of the most distinguished family in New England proceeded (figuratively speaking) first to prod the fathers of Massachusetts with a sharp stick, and then to assail the historians of Massa-

chusetts with a tomahawk! Into the question how far such ex parte methods of instruction ought to commend themselves to pedagogists I do not purpose now to enter. "One light for all," exclaims Mr. Adams in one of his most eloquent passages. By all means, I answer, but surely it should be the steady light of reason and of record, and not one that is liable to be considered an ignis fatuus of imagination and prejudice. I have already drawn attention to several of the flowers of rhetoric distributed by him among his co-workers past and present, but they convey but an imperfect idea of the vigor of a recital which fairly entitles its author to be henceforth regarded in this community as the very Boanerges of iconoclasm. His lectures teem with such additional amenities as "maze of sophistry," "self-satisfied complacency," "self-sufficient provincialism," "hypocrisy," "evasion," "cant," "self-deception," "systematic narrowness of vision," "jaundiced eyes," "perversion of facts," "distortion of record," "pages pervaded by degrading beliefs," "they knew better," "they had no excuse for not knowing better," "knowing better, they sinned," and so on. The misconduct attributed alike to founders and to historians of Massachusetts has apparently so preyed upon the naturally acute mind of Mr. Adams as to have embedded in it the singular hallucination that whenever any one of them has in the course of his life said or done anything of which he (Mr. Adams) now disapproves, not only must such an individual have ipso facto known he was in the wrong and in so doing sinned against light, but that to him is hereafter only applicable the language of the Psalmist, "he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief and brought forth falsehood."1

Of the great ability displayed in this book there can, as I stated at the outset, be no question. Its key-note, however, as it seems to me, is a profound conviction on the part of its author that all Massachusetts historians of any real note, himself excepted, are quite untrustworthy, and that it has been reserved for him to head a crusade for the extirpation of Filio-

¹ It is no disparagement of Mr. Adams to point out that his forcible characterization of writers from whom he differs yields in picturesqueness to that of the poet Swinburne, who, in the December number of "Nineteenth Century," styles one well-known English historical writer "a typical and unmistakable ape of the Dead Sea," and alludes to another (much more recently deceased) as "the Platonic amorist of blue-breeched gondoliers who is now in Aretino's bosom."

Pietism. I am bound to say (though he may not entirely relish the comparison) that no Christian knight of old ever clove the skull of an unbeliever with a more pronounced air of martial exhilaration than that with which Mr. Adams has entered on this combat. It is one, however, in which he cannot hope to be immediately victorious; and as the struggle is likely to last some time, I shall not improbably have other opportunities for mingling in the fray. All I would, therefore, at present say on this head is that, while I have no disposition to deny that instances are to be met with where popular authors, in their treatment of the Puritans, have (slightly paraphrasing the lines of Prior)

Been to their virtues very kind, Been to their faults a little blind,

yet I contend that, as a rule, our leading historical writers have been conspicuous for a persistent search after, and careful statement of recorded fact, — in short, that, as there is every reason to suppose that there existed in Greece brave men before Agamemnon, so there will always be the best reasons for believing that here in Massachusetts veracious historians were not unknown prior to our Vice-President, - nor can the greatest of them all, Thomas Hutchinson, readily be accused of partiality to the Puritans, as he was a descendant of Mistress Anne Hutchinson and a Tory in his political principles. I may add that perhaps the most unblushing filio-pietist upon our roll of members appears to have been an illustrious progenitor of the author of this volume. In the discourse of John Quincy Adams to us, on the 29th of May, 1843, when we celebrated the bi-centennial anniversary of the New England Confederation, occurs the following stirring passage: -

"Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the reputation of our forefathers is the choicest inheritance and the richest possession they have left us. The preservation of their good name from those slanders with which they were so bitterly persecuted and so pertinaciously assailed in their own time, and which, passing from age to age, with a perseverance of envy and detraction, are yet showered upon them, is one of the pre-eminent duties of this Society."

¹ The venerable ex-President had perhaps in mind the ejaculation of Increase Mather in 1690: "Poor New England! Thou hast always been the eye-sore of Squinting Malignity, the Butt of many envenomed arrows. . . . 'T were easy to fill a volume with instances: from the pestilent Morton (the petty-fogger at the beginning) to the infamous Randolph (who comes now in the fagg-end)."

The three letters communicated by Mr. Winthrop here follow:—

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

RIGHT HÕBLE, - Yts well knowne to yo! honn! how S! Ferd. Gorge, with some others his coptners, have these manie yeares past labored to make a plantacon in N: Engl., where having spent theire monie and travell in vayne, being ashamed of theire owne and envying theire neighbors psperity, have of late made clayme to the verie ground where M. Winthrop wth a Colonie late built and planted, and would have had them all to be his tenants. Whereof fayling, he is enraged and stirrs up all the fowle and scandalous complaynts he can devise against the plantacon, laboring either to overthrow theire patent whereby they are made a Corporacon, or at least to have other Governmts established for the better regulating (as he p'tends) of them. Yo' honor sees how this plantacon (being pmitted to peeed in yts owne way wthout rub or lett) doth prosper and com to pfeccon beyond all expectation, yea, contrarie to the judgemt of historians who conclude a plantacon cannot be pformed by pvate psons whout the State. Now if this plantacon shall be putt out of yts owne way, I much feare yt will fare wth yt as yt did with the herring fishing and staple of Engl., for under P'tence of establishing good governmt for the better regulating of those pricelesse and rich trades, such orders and lawes were made as were the cause of the wholl loose of the one and of letting strangers reape pte of the proffitt of the other.

This plantacon and that of Virgenia went not forth upon the same reasons nor for the same end. Those of Virgenia went only for proffitt; having noe disturbance therein they enjoyed all they desired, but if that had be'n taken from them they would soon have broken, some retorning home, others dispsing elswhere. These went upon 2 other designes: some to satisfie theire owne curiosity in poynt of conscience, others (w^{ch} was more gen'all) to transport the Gospell to those heathen that never heard thereof; to this most of the Cheife amongst them were encouraged upon this ground that the fulnes of the Gentiles might come in before the Jewes shalbe recalled. To beginn this good worke these have ventured farr in respect of theire estates and hasard of theire lives, and there yet submit to manie dangers, both of theire lives and goods, as well from the native as foreign enemyes.

Ob: The only considerable objection agt this plantacon is that in tyme they will revolt from theire alleadgeance & joyne in trade wth strangers, and soe deprive this land of those staple comodityes went that country may afford us.

Ans: Please the State to encouradge them as hitherto yt hath done, that feare shall easily be removed, for as they doe, soe must they still,

depend upon this kingdome:—first, for that the wholl trade of the plantacon is mayntayned by such undertakers as are in old Engl., having no purpose to transplant themselves thither; 2. those that govern the wholl plantacon have both lands and children here; 3. divers others are in rev'sion and soe in hope of lands here for themselves or theire children (w^c are good bonds for theire alleadgeance), these though not the most in number yet in some authority and such as doe sway and rule the multitude; 4. whereas theire patent byndes them to yeald to his Ma^{te} the 5th pte only of the Oare, the undertakers here will pswade the planters to accept a new patent and thereby be bound to transport noe masts &c. for cordadge and shipping but into old Engl., and for further assurance to pcure a law there for this purpose.

One thing wilbe humbly desired from his Ma^{tic} in this patent, that he wilbe pleased to covenant to ayde and assist them, if need require, agt all forreigne enemies, and that the patent be enlarged a litle to the North, where are the best ffirs and tymber for shipping, and alsoe thereby to povent usurpation and intrusion of pjuditiall neighbours.

But yt may be objected they will in tyme encrease to a great number and then shake off this State and Country. Ans: The more the plantacon encreaseth, the more assurance there wilbe of fast binding to this State, ptly as aforesaid by the estates in possion or revision went the better sorte who shall rule the multitude must leave behind them, and ptly by th' encrease of the nomber of undertakers, went comonly be of the nearest and dearest friends of the planters.

Its a supposicon and causeles feare wthout psident that a Colony planted in a strange land were ever soe foolishly besotted as to reject the pteccon of theire naturall Prince (though homebread rebellions in all nations have be'n so frequent.) How close did the Roman Colony placed here adhere to the Empire, yea, till yt broke all in peices, and then the Colony was constrayned to seeke for p'teccon elswhere. come nearer home and to these tymes, the Dutch having manie Colonies abroade, some in the East and West Indyes and some in other places where they enjoy better countryes than at home, yet are wthout feare of loosing any one, unless by surprise of an enemye. Soe the Portingalls had manie Colonyes abroade at that verie tyme when theire kingdome was translated to Spayne, yet none revolted, neither hath the State of Spayne to this day lost any one but what the Dutch or other enemyes have conquered. And shall any suspect that in this Colony, that never since the Creation happened in any? I have marveyled to see the manie 100 lies that come from N: Engl. evrie passadge, some to parents, others to masters, some to p'tners, others to freinds, and most for supply in one thing or other. Againe, yts worthy observation the great joy that is in the plantacon when they see a shipp goeing in to them from home. Againe, yts most certeyne that yts not an easy thing to force or compell a Colony planted in a strange land to forsake theire alleadgeance & pteccon of theire naturall Prince, or to leave theire commerce wth theire freinds and allyes in theire native country (whom they may safely trust) to rest upon strangers for pteccon and comerce, in whom they can put noe confidence. Surely they would be counted a foolish and madde people that should wthout constraynt take theire stocks out of theire freinds and kinsmens hands, to venture & hasard the same in mens hands in whom they have had no experience.

To conclude, this State is as sure of firme alleadgeance from this Colony or Corporacon in N: E: as of any Corporacon here wthin this land, and lett them but enjoye the lib'tye of theire patent, and to choose theire owne officers as ev'rie Corporacon doth here, then shall this kingdome clearly gayne, by the fruits of theire labors, that comodious trade of cordage, pitch and tarr and that wthout monie, yea, for nothing, for were these people at home they must be fedd and cloathed here, & for theire apparrell and some few other necessaries w^{ch} they must have spent if they had be'n at home wee shall gayne that trade unto us. I could give yor honor more full satisfaccon herein but that I dare not trench any further on yor patience, soe abruptly breaking off I crave pdon for this boldnes and rest

Yor honors faythfull Servant,

Em: Downinge.

Nelms, 12º 10br 1633.

Since my returne from Nelms I understand of ill newes from N: E: by lies and passengers come from thence, that the Dutch have intruded upon the principall and best river in N: E:, we runneth along the back of this plantacon.

[Cover missing. Endorsed by Sir John Coke "1633. Deceb. 12. Mr Downing, fro Nelms.1 —— New England."]

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

To the right höble S. John Coke, Knt, principall Secretarie to his Matte and one of his highnes höble privy Councell at Court, dd.

RIGHT HÖBLE, — I have not heard from M. Meredith about Burks land since yo. hono! left the towne, weh makes me jealous of the peedings therein, but my hope is yo! hono! will, or have taken a course for the passing M. Reades graunt weh will remove all doubts. There is a ship retorned into the west country from New England weh tooke in masts for hir freight homeward. This is the first ship that cam freighted with masts

¹ Downing is known to have had a house in London at this period, and his wife's letters contain occasional references to his being "at Nelms." This place has not been identified, but is thought to have been a farm near Ipswich.

into these pts from thence. And now this trade being by us discovered I fear the Dutch, as they have done in other trades, will use theire witts and endeavour to appropriate yt unto themselves, but if yt please God the plantacon shall henceforward psprously p'ceede as heatherto yt hath done. I doubt not but the Englishe will make good that trade against Dutch and ffrench, and likewise gayne the country to his Matic. The Governo' this spring sent some Englishe to plant upon the river of Connecticott, whither the Dutch last yeare encroached, soe the Englishe lye on the one side and the Dutch on the other side of the river. This is a great river lying almost in the midst betwene Hudsons river, where the Dutch first planted, and our plantacon. The Dutch now wilbe confined to theire boundes unles they meane to fight for more, and then I doubt not his Matic wilbe as able and ready to maynteyne his Colonie as the Dutch theirs

I made bold to write for that I am goeing wth his hono! the M^r of the Wards into Suffolke, his native soyle, in hope that will conduce to his gayning of strength, who, I thanke God, is rather mending than payning. His leggs are yet weake, but he can now sett at table to his meate and in his chayre to dispatch busines, and to looke on his face and discourse wth him you would scarce beleive he were sicke. Soe, hartylye praying for yo! hono! long life here and eternall happines hereafter, I humbly take leave and rest

Yo! hono is faythfull servant,

Em: Downinge.

London, 23° August 1634.

I heare the masts were sold so soone as they were landed, at an extraordinarie great price.

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

To the right hobble S: John Coke, Knt., principall Secretarie to his Matter thes Frent.

RIGHT HÖBLE, — M' Wynsloe being my Lord Keepers countryman, whose father alsoe his Lop. loved verie well, doth now much pitty his cause, and expressing soe much last night to his Ladye, shee sent last night to M' Wynsloe to give him notice of hir husbands affection to him and willed him to peticon his Lop. for the furtherance of his freedom out of prison, the we'h he hath now done.² I thought yt my

² The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal here referred to was Thomas, first Lord Coventry, whose property was in Worcestershire, where Winslow was born.

¹ Sir Robert Naunton, of Letheringham, co. Suffolk, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, died in the following year. Earlier in life he had been Secretary of State to James I. Both Downing and his brother-in-law, Governor Winthrop, had held the office of Attorney to the Court of Wards.

duty to acquaynt you herewth because I would have nothing agitated herein unknowne to yor honor. But that the peticon was delivered before I spake wth Mr Winsloe, I had stayed yt, and soe would he himselfe as now resolved wholly to relye upon yor honors favor and direction for his owne and publique good of the plantacon in all things henceforward. Soe I humbly take leave and rest

Yor honors to doe you service whilest I am

Em: Downinge.

19. 10^{br} 1634.

[Endorsed by Sir John Coke "1634. Decb. 19. Mr Downinge — Mr Winslow."]

Mr. Charles F. Adams said that it seemed to him inexpedient at least to say anything which would enter into the Proceedings of the Society which had not been carefully considered. The criticisms of Mr. Winthrop had been of a somewhat unusual character, and hardly in accordance with the traditions of the Society. Under the circumstances, therefore, he would defer any reply until he had had an opportunity to examine more carefully and in print what Mr. Winthrop had said. He would then take an opportunity to answer Mr. Winthrop, so far as it seemed to him necessary so to do, at the next meeting of the Society.

Dr. Samuel A. Green communicated for publication in the Proceedings some contemporaneous copies of Funeral Elegies in the Library of the Society, and spoke in substance as follows:—

The poetic impulse in the human breast finds expression in different ways at different periods of time. Two centuries ago, writers of poetical compositions in memory of the dead were more common in New England than they are to-day. They gave utterance to their feelings in a form of verse known as the Elegy. Such productions were often printed as broadsides, and circulated among the friends of the family. They were generally crude in their metrical construction, but they afforded a certain kind of sad satisfaction to the mourners. Sometimes manuscript copies were made from the printed sheet, and these, too, were sent around to the friends of the departed.

In the Historical Library is a copy of two Elegies composed by Benjamin Tompson, and written on the same sheet of

paper, but not in his handwriting, which was given to the Society, by Mr. Winthrop, on April 6, 1864. One of these Elegies is entitled "A Neighbours Tears dropt on ye grave of an Amiable Virgin a pleasant plant cut downe in the blooming of her Spring Viz mrs Rebecka Sewal. Ætatis 6. . August ye 4th 1710." and is signed "Ben: Thompson."; and the other is entitled "A Clowde of Tears, sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin mrs Rebecka Sewel who Suddenly died August. 3 1710. Ætatis suæ." and is signed "B: T:". The manuscript copy is evidently contemporaneous with the event, and the two Elegies are quite distinct. The correct date of death, according to Sewall's Diary, is August 3. There is no reason to think that the first one was ever printed; but the other certainly was, as the Library owns a specimen. The printed heading is as follows: "A Neighbour's TEARS | Sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin, | Mrs. Rebekah Sewall, | Who was born December 30, 1704, and dyed | suddenly, Annust 3, 1710. Ætatis 6."

Rebekah Sewall was the eldest daughter of Samuel Sewall, Jr., and a granddaughter of the Chief Justice. In early times it was the custom to address ladies of high position as Mistress or Mrs., whether married or not; but this is the only instance where I have found a little girl six years old so styled. This Elegy is not given in the list of Tompson's writings, as found in Mr. Sibley's Harvard Graduates.

The following is a copy of the first Elegy here mentioned, which is supposed not to have been printed:—

A Neighbours Tears dropt on ye grave of an Amiable Virgin a pleasant plant cut downe in the blooming of her Spring Viz mrs Rebecka Sewal.

Anno Ætatis 6. . August ye 4th 1710.

O heighth! o Depths! upon my bended knees Who dare Expound these Wondrous Mysteries: That this rare plant is cropt before mine Eyes (Meer Shadow) left to write her Elegies. Pray what brave Artist here can Understand What one intends y! takes a pen in hand? Twas 'tother day a place I visited Where stands a palme, one limb whereof is dead.

A bow'r w^{ch} many years Thousands have shaded By whome one Church was built: and Willard aided Seeking ye plat of Immortality I saw no place secure but some must die Treading that way their Ancient fathers did Whose faces are, but Vertues can't be hid. I saw this pretty Lamb, but t'other day, With a small flock of Doves, Just in my Way. What New made Creature's this so bright thought I Ah! pitty tis Such prettiness should die With rare alliances on Every side Had old physitians liv'd She ne're had died. Must then the Rulers of this Worlds Affairs By Providence be brought to us in tears Lord keep their Eyes from such smart Judgments free Such mournfull Sights are more becoming mee. Pleasant Rebecka, heres to thee a Tear Hugg my sweet Mary if you chance to see her Had you giv'n warning ere you pleasd to Die, You might have had a neater Elegy.

BEN: THOMPSON.

[Indorsed] "1710 m. Thompson's Verses on m. Sewals Childe."

The allusion of the writer to his own little girl (Mary), in the closing lines of the Elegy, is quite pathetic. She died on March 28, 1700, at the age of seven years.

Another instance of a Funeral Elegy that was printed, and also circulated in manuscript, is one on John Foster, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1667, who died on September 9, 1681, written by Joseph Capen, a graduate of Harvard, Class of 1677. Still another instance is a second one on Foster, written by Thomas Tilestone. From an advertisement in an old almanac I assume that both these Elegies were printed. It is as follows:—

Advertisement.

There are suitable Verses Dedicated to the Memory of the INGENIOUS Mathematician and Printer Mr John Foster. Price 2d. a single Paper, both together 3d.

The Psalter also which Children so much wanted, is in part printed; and will shortly be finished: both to be sold by *John Usher* of *Boston*.

The title of the almanac is as follows: "An Ephemeris of Cœlestial Motions, Aspects, Eclipses, &c. For the Year of the Christian Æra 1682.... By W. Brattle Philomath.... Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green 1682."; and the advertisement appears by itself on the last page of the pamphlet. It is evident that the "Verses" here advertised were two distinct "Papers," or sheets, as they were sold either separately or both together.

A copy of this almanac, bound up with others now in the possession of the Historical Society, once belonged to Chief-Justice Sewall; and on the blank space under the advertisement is written, "The last half Sheet was Printed wth my Letters [or type], at Boston. S. S." At that time Judge Sewall had the official management of the printing-press in Boston, regularly licensed by the General Court, and no one else was allowed to interfere with him without a "like liberty first granted." As he was not brought up to the trade, Samuel Green, Jr. (a practical printer), had charge of the busi-The last four leaves of the almanac, or half signature, are in different type, which explains this reference. Under a misapprehension of the facts, the Committee of Publication for Sewall's Diary have referred this manuscript entry, as printed by them in the first volume (page 50) of the Diary, to the almanac which immediately follows in the small volume.

Mr. Sibley, in his Harvard Graduates, refers to these two Elegies on Foster, and makes several quotations therefrom. He had found them in Thomas C. Simonds's "History of South Boston" (pages 34-39), published in the year 1857, where they both appear in full. The author of that work says that he received them from certain members of the family. A few months ago I borrowed from Mr. Thompson Baxter, of South Boston, these same copies of the Elegies, which were without doubt contemporary with the printed ones. His grandmother was a Foster, though not a descendant of the printer, as he was unmarried, but she descended in a collateral line. It is interesting to note that certain words in the two manuscripts are written in large capitals, showing probably that the copyist followed a printed sheet. has been thought that the closing lines of Capen's Elegy suggested to Franklin the quaint epitaph which he wrote for himself. As a bright boy with an inquisitive turn of mind, Franklin was familiar with the main incidents in the life of Foster, the first printer in Boston, and probably the earliest engraver in New England. The verses differ in some minor respects from those in the "History of South Boston," and for that reason the Elegies are here reprinted, as follows:—

A Funeral Elegy

Upon the much to be Lamented Death and most
Deplorable Expiration of the Pious, Learned, Ingenious,
and Eminently Usefull Servant of God
Mr John Foster

Who Expired and Breathed out his Soul quietly into the Arms of His Blessed REDEEMER at Dorchester, Sept. 9th Anno Dom. 1681

Ætatis Anno 33

Here lye the relict Fragments, which were took Out of Consumtion's teeth, by Death the Cook Voracious Apetite dost thus devour Scarce ought hast left for worms t' live on an Hour But Skin & Bones no bones thou mak'st of that It is thy common trade t' eat all the fat. Here lyes that earthly House, where once did dwell That Soul that Scarce [ha]th left its Parallel For Sollid Judgment Piety & Parts And peerless Skill in all the practick Arts Which as the glittering Spheres, it passed by Methinks, I Saw it Glance at Mercury; Ascended now: 'bov Time & Tides 't abides, Which Sometimes told the world, of Times & Tides. Next to th' Third Heavens the Stars were his delight, Where's Contemplation dwelt both day & night, Soaring unceartainly but now at Shoar, Whether Sol moves or Stands He doubts no more. He that despis'd the things the world admired, As having Skill in rarer things acquired, The heav'ns Interpreter doth disappear; The Starre's translated to his proper Sphere. What e're the world may think did Cause his death Consumption 'twas not Cupid, Stopt his breath. The Heav'ns which God's glory doe discover, Have lost their constant Friend & instant Lover Like Atlas, he help't bear up that rare Art Astronomy; & always took his part:

Most happy Soul who didst not there Sit down But didst make after an eternal Crown Sage Archimede! Second Bezaleell Oh how didst thou in Curious works excell! Thine Art & Skill deserve to See the Press. And be Composed in a Printers dress. Thy Name is worthy for to be enroll'd In Printed Letters of the choicest Gold

Thy Death to five foretold Eclipses Sad, A great one, unforetold doth Superad, Successive to that Strange Æthereal Blaze, Whereon thou didst so oft astonish'd, gaze; Which daily gives the world Such fatal blows: Still whats to come we dread; God only knows. Thy Body which no activeness did lack Now's laid aside like an old Almanack But for the present only's out of date: Twil have at length a far more active State.

Yea, though with dust thy body Soiled be, Yet at the Resurrection we Shall See A fair Edition & of matchless worth. Free from Errata, new in Heav'n Set forth: Tis but a word from God the great Creatour, It Shall be Done when he Saith IMPRIMATUR.

Semœstus cecinit

JOSEPH CAPEN

Mrs Foster I am very Happy to have it in my Power to Send you this Coppy I have long intended it but but [sic] want of leisure is the Cause, that this may meet you & Children in Health is the Wish of

A SHORES

This note to Mrs. Foster, signed by A. Shores, was written by the person who copied the two Elegies. I am inclined to think that it is in a woman's hand, but of this I am not sure: nor am I able to identify the family of the copyist. Foster, here alluded to, was the mother of the printer, as he was never married.

Funeral Elegy Dedicated to the Memory of His Worthy Friend The Learned & Religious M^r John Foster who Deceased in Dorchester the 9 of Sep^{br} 1681

> Amongst the Mourners that are met (For Payment of their last love debt

Unto the dead) to Solemnize,
With Sighs and Tears his Obsequies,
Loves Laws command that I appear
And drop a kindly friendly Tear
I'll venture to bewail his Herse
Though in a homely Country verse
To omit the Same, it were
A Crime at least Piacular

Our woful loss for to Set forth,
By Setting forth the matchless worth
Of the Deceased is too high
For my poor Rural Poetry
And greater Skill it doth require
Then whereunto I may aspire

Records declare how he excell'd
In Parentage unparallell'd
Whose Grace and Virtues very great
He did himself Impropriate
Unto Himself; improv'd withall
By Learning Academical

His Curious works had you but Seen You would have thought Him to have been By Some Strange Metempsychosis A new reviv'd Archmedes; At least you would have judg'd that he A rare Apelles would Soon be.

Adde to these things I have been hinting His Skill in that rare Art of PRINTING: His accurate Geography, And Astronomick Poetry; And you will Say, 'twere pitty He Should dy without an Elegie

His piercing Astronomick EYE
Could penetrate the Cloudy Sky,
And Soar aloft, ith' highest Sphere
Descrying Stars that disappear
To Common eyes: But Faith and Hope
His all-excelling Telescope,
Did help his heaven-born Soul to pry
Beyond the Starry Cannopy.

His excellencies here, we find Were crowned with an humble mind

Thus (Grace obtein'd and Art acquir'd And thirty three years near expir'd)

He that here liv'd belov'd, contented Now dies bewail'd and much lamented.

Who know the Skill, which to our losse This Grave doth now alone ingrosse, Ah who can tell JOHN FOSTER'S worth Whose Anagram is, I SHONE FORTH Presaged was his Apoge, By a preceding Prodigie Heav'ns blazing Sword was brandished By Heav'ns inraged wrath we dread; Which Struck us with amazing fear Some fixed Star would disappear: Th' appearance was not long adjour'nd Before our Fear to Sorrow turn'd.

Oh Fatal Star (whose fearful flame A flery Chariot became Whereby our Phenix did ascend)
Thou art our Foe, although his Friend

That rare Society, which forth
Hath Sent Such Gems of greatest worth
It's OAKS and pleasant Plants by death
Being pluct up, it languisheth:
Thus dye our hopes, and Harvards glory
Scarce parallel'd in any Story

That GOD does thus our choice ones Slay
And cunning Artist take away
The Sacred Oracles do Shew
A dreadfull flood of wrath in vieu

Oh then let every one of you His rare accomplishments that knew Now Weep: weep ye of Harvard Hall With bitterest Tears; so weep we all

Chiefly such as were alone
Flesh of his flesh, Bone of his Bone
Lament indeed and fill the Sky[es]
With th' eccho's of their dolefull cries
Let James, and let Elisha too
With Comfort, Standfast weeping, go
Thankfull, Patience, Mary likewise
Like loveing Sisters Solemnize
With Sigh's your greatest losse but yet
Your Thankfull Hope do not forget
With perseverance to fulfill
Know your Elijah's GOD lives Still

Standfast therefore with Patience
Comfort Shall be your recompence
And as you yet Survive your Brother
So be like comforts to your Mother
Who like Naomi Sad is left
Of Husband, and two Sons breft
So bitterly th' Almighty one
Hath to our weeping Marah done
Grieve not too much the time draws near
You'll re-enjoy Relations dear
And all together Shall on high
With everlasting Melody
And perfect peace His praises Sing
Who through all troubles did you bring
THOMAS TILESTON

[Indorsed] "Elegies on the death of Mr John Foster 1681."

In the last Elegy, near the end, the allusions to James, Elisha, Comfort, Standfast, Thankfull, Patience, and Mary, are to the surviving brothers and sisters of Foster, and to a brother Hopestill, who had previously died. See the Proceedings, 2d series, IV., 203; VI., 41, for other particulars concerning the printer.

Dr. Green at the same time announced the death of the Hon. Charles H. Bell, a Corresponding Member, which took place at Exeter, New Hampshire, on November 11. He had been Governor of his native State, besides filling many other public positions, and was the author of several historical works, including a History of Exeter. He was chosen a member of this Society on August 10, 1871, and at the time of his death had nearly finished a work on the Bench and Bar of New Hampshire.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Brief remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and by Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, who suggested that the avenue leading across the city to the new Harvard bridge, and now known by various designations, might be appropriately called Parkman Avenue, in memory of the historian.